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SOURCE Monitored Broadcasts

CPW Report No. 79 -- USSR (24 March - 6 April 1953)

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#### AGRICULTURE :

Discussion of agricultural activities in the period reviewed focuses on the technical aspect of field work-mechanization, tractor repairs, etc. Field work is now going full tilt, says a RADYANSKA UKRAINA editorial on 25 March, and it appears at first glance that the collective farms and machine-tractor stations have made adequate preparations for it, "but the facts tell a different story." The number of agricultural areas laboring under adverse technical conditions is "something to be concerned about." Dozens of tractors are said to be idle in MTS in Chernovets, Sumy, and Chernigov oblasts for want of repairs, and tractor-repair work has collapsed (zirvano remont traktoriv) in some rayons in Odessa Oblast.

There is also criticism of the way equipment is repaired:

The same editorial also criticizes the quality of repair work, noting that "many machines have to be sent back to the shop shortly after they appear in the field." The situation is aggravated by a shortage of qualified tractor drivers which makes it impossible to use available machinery for more than one shift a day. In the western oblasts of the Ukraine "far from all MTS" are technically prepared for field work, and unnecessary delays appear inevitable. The effects of all this, the paper concludes, is already being felt (vse tse vzhe dalosya vznaki).

A Bubnovsky article broadcast from Vinnitsa on 25 March warns against the "repetition of last year's mistakes" in stock breeding, fodder procurement, and tractor maintenance. There is enough farming equipment in the oblast to mechanize practically every type of agricultural work, he says, but much of it is in a state of disrepair while the serviceable machinery is not being properly utilized or maintained. Tractors are often abused and "as a result need repairs before the set time."

Slow, inferior tractor repair work is still tolerated in many parts of the country, according to IZVESTIA (26 March). Kursk, Penza, Saratov, and an unspecified number of other oblasts are far behind repair schedules, while in Voronezh Oblast the work has deteriorated compared with last year. Also lagging behind last year's schedules in the most important aspects of the work" (po vazhneishim rabotam) are Tambov, Orel, Smolensk, Ryazan, Kirov, Kurgan, and Omsk oblasts. Many collective and State farms and MTS in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia, where field work has already begun, have not completed their preparations for spring sowing.

Listing several areas as adversely affected by administrative "complacency and carelessness" (blagodushie i bezzabotnost), TRUD (28 March) urges a thorough check-up on the preparedness (gotovnost) of the MTS and kolkhozes "before they take to the field." Field work will soon start in the central areas of the country, and progress may be hampered by the same technical shortcomings as in the south: we cannot afford to lose a single day, a single hour.

PRAVDA's discussion of preparedness on the agricultural front (29 March) reveals a few more lagging districts. In Chkalov oblast "the tempos are slower than last year" (tempy nizhe chem v proshlom godu); in Moldavian SSR, Rostov Oblast, and elsewhere, production plans have not yet been completed nor have tractor brigades been told about their production quotas. Nothing has been done to alleviate the shortage of skilled tractor drivers in Saratov and Voronezh oblasts or to eliminate the serious shortcomings discovered in Altai Krai:

**CPYRGHT** 

Only a creless attitude on the part of the leadership of the Altai Krai Executive Committee and the krai's agricultural organs can explain the fact that a considerable number of tractors have not yet been repaired.

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Russian text:

en Charles Straffed And

**CPYRGHT** 

Tolko bezzabotnym otnosheniem rukovoditelei Altaiskogo kraispolkoma is selskokhozaistvennykh organov kraya mozhno obyasnit tot fakt, chto do sikh per zdes ne otremontirovano znachitelneye kokichestvo traktorov.

The central press criticism of agricultural vulnerabilities is echoed by all regional transmitters, which carry almost identical complaints about subjects ranging from broken tractors and the lack of qualified drivers to inadequate fodder supplies and cattle losses.

SEVERNAYA PRAVDA (31 March) says that there are indications that northern Kostroma oblast will not be prepared for field work on time since "the majority of the machine-tracter stations are intolerably backward." The paper says that 10 April is the deadline for all preparations for field operations. A breadcast from Kursk (31 March) quotes KURSKAYA PRAVDA as reporting that a recent session of the oblast Party committee found that the number of available tractors was imadequate for the work shead, that not all collective farms had procured the necessary seed, and that little had been done about solving the qualified personnel problem.

A report from Poltava (31 March) lists 13 rayons where spring field work "should be in full swing by now" but is progressing slowly. Reference is also made to short-comings other than "slow tractor repairs" which affect the success of the sowing campaign, but the point is not amplified. STAVROPOISKAYA PRAVDA (1 April) says that technical facilities in the krai are becoming more abundant but "an intelerable situation" still prevails at a number of machine-tractor stations, particularly in Dmitrievsky Rayon where "during the first day of work all the caterpillar tractors broke down."

Resuming the agricultural theme on 5 April, PRAVDA declares that field work will soon start in central and southeast USSR, Siberia, and the northwest oblasts of Kazakh SSR, and therefore it might be a good idea to study the mistakes already made in the southern part of the country and "to make the proper conclusions" (sdelat sootvetstvuyushchie vyvody). Besides neglecting the maintenance of farm equipment, a number of southern districts also appear to "underestimate" (nedootsenivayut) the importance of various aspects of agriculture. In Krasnodar Krai, for example, only seven percent of the perennial grass-sowing plan was fulfilled by 31 March. One of the major shortcomings, however, is the low shift output per tractor: "in a number of southern rayons the daily output per 15-herse-power tractor is only half of the prescribed eight hectares."

There is comparatively little discussion of the livestock industry beyond a RADYANSKA UKRAINA editorial (2 April) devoted to that subject. The "serious neglect of the fodder base" in a number of Ukrainian oblasts, says the paper, is largely responsible for "the considerable loss" of livestock and low livestock productivity. Reference is made to the March plenary session of the Ukrainian Party's Central Committee which is said to have found the stock-breeding situation in the Republic rather glocmy:

In a number of oblasts, particularly in Chernigev, Zhitomir, Sumy, and Kiev, a considerable number of rayons failed to fulfill the plans for increasing livestock and fowl. Large quantities of steril cows and pigs are tolerated as well as livestock losses, especially of young stock, which brings great losses to the State and to kolkhozes.

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Ukrainian text:

**CPYRGHT** 

Ryadi oblastey, osoblivo na chernigovshchyni, Zhitomirshchyni, sumshchyni i kiyevshchyni znachna chastyna rayoniv ne vykonala planiv rostu matochnogo poholivya i rozvitku ptashivnytstva, dopuskaitsya velyka yalovist koriv i sviney, zahibel khudoby, okrema molodnyaka, shcho zadaye velychezny shkody derzhavi i kolgospam.

IZVESTIA (5 April) says that the progress of the livestock industry is "unsatis-factory," particularly in Krasnodar Krai and Vinnitsa Oblast. Fodder procurement is said to be lagging far behind schedule in Kherson Oblast and in the southern areas of Kazakhstan. The Kazakh agricultural authorities are cautioned against the practice of relegating fodder procurement to a secondary place in their field operations, while the Republic's Ministry of Agriculture is castigated for its short memory:

One gains the impression that the leaders and specialists of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Stocks have already forgotten the lessons of last winter, when many collective farms experienced a fodder shortage.

**CPYRGHT** 

Russian text:

Sozdayetsya vpechatlenie, chto rukovoditeli i spetsialisty Ministerstva selskogo khozaistva i zagotovok respubliki uspeli zabyt uroki minuvshei zimovki, kogda mnogie kolkhozy ispytyvali nedostatok kermov.

The irrigation of reclaimed arid lands is not proceeding according to plan in Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Kara-Kalpakia, and other places, according to PRAVDA (25 March). One of the major shortcomings in this respect is the failure to make adequate use of the available earth-digging machinery, which hampers the change-over to the new irrigation system. It is also revealed that the irrigation installations built in the Don River area and the central black-soil belt were so defective that "the very first enrush of water knocked them out of commission" (pri pervom zhe propuske vody vykhodili iz stroya).

Potato and vegetable growing is not given the attention it calls for, according to IZVESTIA (24 March). The local Soviets must look into this branch of agriculture, particularly in Saratov, Kuibyshev, Sverdlovsk, and Tula oblasts where it has been grossly neglected. In Molotov Oblast, for example, the land allocated for potatoes and vegetables has actually been reduced instead of being expanded according to plan. Production must be stepped up at all costs, the paper urges, and the best way of achieving that is to create a network of hot-houses in the collective farms and the land plots assigned to city organizations for their own use.

KIEVSKA PRAVDA (28 March) complains that "insufficient attention is devoted to the production of vegetables in Kiev oblast" and that the yields are therefore below the planned figures. This paper, too, stresses the importance of hot-houses for raising potato and vegetable crops, and wonders why the local authorities in most of the oblast's rayons do not take them seriously:

In Brovarskiy Rayon alone only eight percent of the number of hot-house frames necessary for growing early vegetables and only five percent of the necessary amount of peat-humus have been prepared so far. **CPYRGHT** 

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Following are extracts from complaints about various agricultural deficiencies aired on the regional transmitters during the past two weeks:

- 24 March-Many kolkhozes of Shepetovskiy, Belogorskiy, Chernocstrovskiy and Oryninskiy rayons (Kamenets-Podolsk Oblast) did not fulfill their plans for the procurement of fertilizers and did not complete the preparation of machinery for field work (RADYANSKE PODILIYE);
- 24 March--Our oblast has not yet utilized all the possibilities for raising harvest yields and developing communal stock breeding ... the sugar-beet growers especially are lagging in their performance (RADYANSKA ZHITOMIRSHCHINA);
- 25 March-Serious shortcomings have come to light in a number of rayons of Krasnodar Krai in connection with the spring sowing campaign. Many kolkhozes and sowkhozes of Adygey Autonomous Oblast began their spring sowing work without much organizing (SOVIETSKA KUBAN);
- 26 March--The vicious practice of reshuffling workers from one collective farm to another has not been eliminated .... A frequent change of kelkhoz cadres has only detrimental effects (KRASNY KURGAN editorial);
- 28 March-Great deficiencies have been noted in the spring work and tending of winter crops in some rayons. Unfortunately, the organs concerned are not coping satisfactorily with this important task (ZARYA VOSTOKA editorial);
- 3 April--A particularly impermissible lag in spring sowing prevails at some kolkhozes of Ivanovskiy, Razdelnyanskiy, Belyaevskiy, and some other rayons (ZNAMYA KCMMUNIZMA editorial);
- 3 April--Tractors are not used satisfactorily at many machine-tractor stations and kolkhozes of the southern oblasts. Such shortcomings exist in Dzhambul and Alma Ata oblasts. Extremely poor progress is being made in regard to the spring sowing campaign in South Kazakhstan Oblast (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA editorial).

#### WELFARE ACTIVITIES

For the Good of the People (dlya blaga naroda) is the gist of the central and regional comment on the latest reduction of prices on consumer goods published on the first of the month. There is unusual emphasis on the improved availability of mass-consumption goods and on the fact that the Soviet people are "on the way to abundance" (po puti k izobiliu). The burst of propaganda following the price reductions announcement has supplied some specific figures—a rare phenomenon in Soviet propaganda treatment of the well-being theme.

On 3 April PRAVDA frontpaged a report from the "Ural-mash-zavod" plant under the title "This Is How A Worker's Family Lives" (Tak Zhivet Rabochaya Semya). The statement, made in the first person by a blacksmith of that plant, tells how the new price reduction has benefited his already "high" standard of living. For his 2,500-ruble monthly earning, he says, his family of five has been getting everything it needs:

**CPYRGHT** 

Butter, meat, milk, and other products are never missing from our table. The children are well dressed and shod and have the necessary text books. I bought a "Pobeda" automobile on my savings.

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Russian text:

U nes na stole ne perevodyatsya maslo, myaso, moloko i drugie produkty. Deti dobrotno odety i obuty, obespecheny uchebnikami. Na svoi trudovie sberezhenia ya kupil legkovuvu avtomashinu "Pobeda." **CPYRGHT** 

The price reductions, continues the blacksmith, will mean a yearly net gain to his family of 4,000 rubles, which will be used to buy overcoats, suits of clothes, and dresses for his two girls. It will also enable them to attend the theaters more frequently. (However, the blacksmith quoted above is also said to be a Stalin Prize winner and it is therefore safe to assume that his salary and other amenities, being far greater than the average, cannot be used as a criterion for assessing the material well being of ordinary workers.)

Another innovation in propagandizing the growing standard of living is the wide use of pictures to show how everybody is buying everything. All the central papers carry photographs showing the interiors of large department stores (univermagi) in Moscow and elsewhere packed with smiling customers and doing a brisk business. Prominence is given also to dispatches from many parts of the country comparing the increased sales of household and other goods with previous years and quoting the expressions of gratitude to the government and the Party by organizations and individual citizens.

TRUD (1 April) uses the occasion to juxtapose the "joyous and happy life" (radostnaya i schastlivaya zhizn) under socialism with the "poverty, lack of rights and war" (nishcheta, bespravie i voyna) which spell capitalism. Devoting the entire second and third pages to this comparison, the paper "proves" its point by arranging appropriate reports, charts, and pictures depicting a life of prosperity in the Soviet Union and a rapidly deteriorating economic situation in the capitalist would. Opposite the photographs showing Soviet people buying foodstuffs and delicacies is a picture of unemployed French workers with tin containers in their hands waiting in line for free soup. The chart showing increasing sales of all sorts of consumer commodities in the USSR is placed alongside a downward curve tracing the fall of the dollar value from its prewar 100 cents to the "present 32 cents," and so on.

School below to the property also contains comparative indexes of the East-West living school below to the bright present and still brighter future the property of the PSSR. ASTREAUDA points out on 1 April, the present price reduction will become particularly palpable" (osobenno calchutimo skazhetsya) after the new harvest when the rapid stream of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit reaches the stores, stands, and diring rooms. The new reduced prices on electrical appliances, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, etc., says the paper, testify to the Party's and government's desire "to ease the lot of Soviet housewives."

The prodigious regional output on the welfare theme follows the line set by the Moscow radio and press. An article by Ukrainian Minister of Trade Zaporozhets, published in RADYANSKA UKRAINA on 1 April and broadcast from Kiev on the same day, repeats the familiar claims of unprecedented popular prosperity. The Ukrainiam people, says the Minister, are going to get plenty of everything, including such durable goods as washing machines and television sets. More consumer items are already available, and the continuous improvement in the work of the retail trade network and the local and cooperative industries will make them still more plentiful:

**CPYRGHT** 

That is why in 1953 the Ukrainian city trade network alone plans to open 510 stores, stands and public nutrition enterprises, and 820 enterprises will be opened by the Ukrainian Cooperative Society.

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Ukrainian Text:

Os chomu vzhe v 1953 rotsi tilky v systemi mistsevykh torgiv Ukrainy dodatkovo bude vidkryto 510 magazyniv, larkiv i pidpryemstv gromadskogo kharchuvannya i v systemi Ukoopspilky--820 pidpryemstv.

**CPYRGHT** 

A TASS transmission on 3 April quotes the Ukrainian Food Minister Gritsyuk as telling his people that available supplies of canned vegetables are 50 percent greater than last year and that the output of tomato juice has doubled compared with last year. Twenty-three new food-producing enterprises will be commissioned this year compared with the 30 built since the beginning of the current five-year plan. Modern technology is already being introduced into food-processing factories and still further mechanization and "automatization" of consumer production visualized.

An atmosphere of optimism is reflected also in regional discussion of local welfare including such related topics as improved medical services for the workers, more libraries, swimming pools, sport facilities, and even comfortable excursions in "luxury" boats on the Dnieper. A report from Daghesten ASSR (Makhach Kala, 31 March) speaks of the numerous pediatricians, surgeons, X-ray machine operators, gynecologists, and others at work in the local medical society.

Chernoshov, broadcasting from Tambov on 3 April, tells of the new weaving and clothing factories going up in Michurinsk and elsewhere in the oblast and promises an increase of 20-million rubles' worth of consumer goods over last year. An announcement broadcast from Simferopol on 6 April calls on the Soviet citizens to take advantage of the improved sea transportation. The steamship "Petr Veliki," it says, "is different from other passenger ships. It has a swimming pool, comfortable restaurants with a great variety of dishes ... table games, a barber shop ,... baths and showers."

#### IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES

The output on ideological themes is largely confined to the need for a general improvement of ideological work, greater attention to the studies of Marxism-Leninism, mass political work, etc. There is virtually no reference, centrally regionally, to the latest developments in the doctors' "plot" which produced the release of the medical prisoners and the arrest of their jailers. The vigilance campaign gets much less attention than a few weeks ago.

RADYANSKA UKRAINA (24 March) finds that "elements of scholasticism" (elementy nachotnichestva) have not yet been eliminated from the social sciences in the Stalino and other unnamed universities of the Republic. A Kuroyedov article published in PRAVDA on 24 March but not broadcast reveals that the "monopolization of certain branches of science by some scientists" in Sverdlovsk Oblast has been the target of recent countermeasures by the State but does not pursue the point:

CPYRGHT

A serious struggle has been waged recently against manifestations of monopolization of certain branches of scientific work by individual scientists.

Russian text:

Za posledneye vremya provedena seryoznaya borda s proyavleniami monopolizatsii nekotorymi uchenymi otdelnykh uchastkov nauchnoy raboty.

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The activities of the oblast's scientific-research institutes and universities, says the article, leave much room for improvement. This is particularly evident in the philosophical faculty of the Ural State University where the transition from the "research into the philosophical systems of the past" (issledovanie filosofskikh sistem proshlago) to the actual philosophic issues of the present is carried out "timidly and slowly" (robko i medlenno).

A KRASNOYE ZNAMYA editorial broadcast from Kharkov on 24 March asserts that the serious shortcomings disclosed at a recent oblast Party session show that "the underestimation of ideological work survives among us." Instruction in the political schools is still inadequate and the personnel selected for agitation work among the people are said to be incompetent. The ideological content of mass-political work, in short, "does not meet the minimum demands," and that applies also to the activities of the Kharkov writers, artists, composers, and others. These intellectual workers are called upon to foster the spirit of friendship among the peoples within the country, to foster their vigilance against even the least manifestations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and stateless cosmopolitanism, and to "expose the monstrous essence of American imperialism and its corroding man-hating ideology."

Discussing Communist self-education, CHERNOMOSKA KOMMUNA (26 March) declares editorially that "instances of perverse practice" among the independent Communist students have been noted in Berezovskiy, Gayvoronskiy, Pervomaiskiy, Voroshilovskiy, and a number of other rayons: "Certain Communists use the form of independent studies as a screen to hide their passivity." The familiar charges of "dogmatism, scholasticism, uncritical approach, objectivism, and distortion of Marxism-Leninism" are leveled at oblast professors, lecturers, writers, and composers who have not met the increased demands of the people and are working "without having any contact with one another." It is the duty of the intelligentsia, the paper continues, to instruct the people in the positive aspects of Communist ideology and at the same time to warn them against the sinister influence of alien theories:

Ideological work and its content must be aimed at revealing any manifestation of bourgeois ideology, particularly Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, and cosmopolitanism ... and the ideology of the mortal enemy of the people, the lurking American imperialism.

**CPYRGHT** 

Ukrainian text:

Ideologichna rabota z svoim zmistom povynna buty spryamovana na vykrytya bud-yakikh proyaviv burzhuaznoy ideologii, osoblivo ukrainskogo burzhuaznogo natsionalizmu, sionizmu i kosmopolitizmu ... i ideologii nailutshogo voroga lyudstva--amerykanskogo khyzhatskogo imperializma.

RADYANSKA UKRAINA (31 March) says that the quality of ideological propaganda lags behind the quantitative output. In Stalino Oblast, for example, mass agitation work has been entrusted to people whose background does not qualify them for such important tasks, and the result is a general disintegration of propaganda work. In Nikolayev Oblast, the propaganda level appears to be still lower since in many cases the salient point of ideological education—Russo-Ukrainian friendship—is not played up as it should be:

In numerous instances agitation is not yet sufficiently slanted toward fostering a feeling of friendship of peoples, toward the strengthening of friendship between the Ukrainian and Great Russian people.

**CPYRGHT** 

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Ukrainian text:

**CPYRGHT** 

V batatyokh vypadkakh agitatsia nedostanyo shehe spryamovana na vykhovannya pochuttiv druzhby narodiv, na zmitsnennya druzhby ukrainskogo narodu z velykim rossiyskim narodom.

Russo-Azerbaijani Friendship is the object of discussion in a Bagirov article (6 April) in the theoretical journal of the Azerbaijan Party, TEBLIGATCI JURNALI. The friendly relations between the two nations are traced back to 1770 when Safali Khan "solemnly promised to remain loyal to Russia until the end of his life." Russian rule has always been benevolent to the people of Azerbaijan and the other peripheral nationalities, according to Bagirov. Even in the rest of the Caucasus, Russian "annexation was in complete harmony with the wishes of the peoples of Georgia and Armenia." There is not a single progressive person in Azerbaijan today, it is claimed, who does not "cherish a deep love for the Russian people, the Russian language," and just like the other non-Russian minorities this Republic owes a great deal to Russian civilization. It is in the peripheral Republics also, Bagirov intimates, that ideological vigilance and "alertness" must be kept at a high pitch so that "spies, saboteurs, subversive elements, and terrorists sent into the country by external intelligence organs" may be apprehended and punished.

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#### SECURITY INFORMATION

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#### SUMMARY

There is no marked departure in the resumed output on agriculture from the pre-Malenkov pattern of propaganda pressure in this branch of economy. The inexplicable reluctance of farm management and labor to make better use of available labor-saving facilities, low administrative and production efficiency, technical breakdowns, etc. still appear to dominate the agricultural scene. Shortcomings in the livestock industry, an admittedly vulnerable sector of Soviet agriculture, get comparatively little attention. The weight of the propaganda campaign has shifted perceptibly to spring sowing, plowing and related field operations directly connected with the current season.

The standard-of-living theme still claims a great deal of attention, and discussions of the price-reduction decree imply that the Party and the Government, not individual leaders, are responsible for the increased benefits for Soviet citizens. Gentral editorial comment on the latest price reductions contains no reference to any of the present Party leaders and very little mention of Stalin.

A further comparison of the frequency of reference to Stalin in the Party's theoretical journal reveals the following downward trend:

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Broadcasts on ideological activities are confined largely to routine criticism of political and theoretical training, lecture propaganda on political topics and inadequate Party education in general. The "friendship-of-peoples" (druzhba narodov) theme gets some mention, as does political vigilance within the Party and among the people.

#### PRAVDA editorial, 2 April

The Communist Party bases all its activities on the Marxist thesis that the systematic improvement of the workers' living standard can be attained only on the basis of uninterrupted growth and perfection of socialist production.

(Kommunisticheskaya partia vo vsey svoey deyatelnosti iskhodit iz marksistskogo polozhenia o tom, chto sistematicheskoye povyshenie zhiznennogo urovnya trudiashchikhsya mozhet byt dostignuto tolko na osnove nepreryvnago rosta is sovershenstvovania sotsialisticheskago proizvedstva)

**CPYRGHT** 

**CPYRGHT** 

#### TRUD editorial, 2 April

The basic economic law of socialism discovered and formulated by J. V. Stalin finds its expression in that ....

(V etom nakhodit svoye vyrazhenie osnovnoy ekonomicheskiy zakon sotsializma, otkrytiy i sformulirovanniy I. V. Stalinym)

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#### SECURITY INFORMATION

**CPYRGHT** 

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#### LITERARY GAZETTE editorial, 2 April

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has chosen, once and for all, the only correct method of assuring the steady expansion of our economy—heavy industry has become the basis for the development of every branch of national economy.

(Raz i navsegda izbrala Kommunisticheskaya partia Sovetskogo Soyuza edinstvenno pravilniy put, obespechivshiy neuklonniy podyom nashey ekonomiki, osnovoy razvitia vsekh otrasley narodnago khozaistva stala tyazhelaya promyshlennost)

#### IZVESTIA editorial, 2 April

Every facet of the life of Soviet society is determined by the basic economic law of socialism which was <u>discovered</u> by <u>Comrade Stalin</u>.

(Vse storony zhizni sovetskogo obshchestva opredelyaet osnovnoy ekonomicheskiy zakon sotsializma, otkrytiy tovarishchem Stalinym)

#### RADYANSKA UKRAINA editorial, 1 April

Such is the basic economic law of socialism discovered and formulated by Comrade J. V. Stalin ....

(Takiy e, vidkrytiy i sformulyovamiy tov. I. V. Stalinym, osnovniy ekonomichniy zakon sotsializmu)

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